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821 Celestial bodies. The Indian observes the figures in the sky and sees in them things with which he is familiar. The sky, "formerly so close," is now very, very high. Only birds that fly a long time might be able to reach it; the medicine man is there in a moment, for him it is "no higher than a house." The characteristics of fire are not attributed to heavenly bodies. The sun is a large ball of the feathers of the red arara and of the toucan, whose feathers also display magnificent orange and red, the moon is a ball of the yellow tail feathers of the weaverbird (Cassicus, japú), which the Bakaïrí /358/ wears in his ears. In the evening the sun is covered with a large pot which is lifted off again in the morning. For the time being I shall ignore the person who takes care of that; this person is an addition or supplement of little concern at the beginning of the development, for if the sun is a feather ball and this feather ball disappears for a while, it is obvious that someone covers it up during that time, whether with a pot, as the Bakaïrí maintain, or by placing it in a gourd, as the Paressí believe.

During the rainy season, when the days are long, the sun is carried by a snail (Bulimus), in the dry season, when they are short, by a hummingbird, it is well known that the wing beat of this little bird is so rapid that the eye cannot follow it. During the night the services of these animals is reversed; in the rainy period the hummingbird, and in the dry period the snail, drags the covered sun-ball back to its old place. For the phases of the moon the Bakaïrí starts with the full moon, when we see the ball in its entirety. A lizard, which we notice along the edge, comes first to take it along, on the second day an ordinary armadillo, and then a giant armadillo whose fat body soon conceals the yellow feathers altogether. It should be noted that the armadillos or tatús /tatous/ have a curved shape, are nocturnal animals, and are hunted by moonlight.

821 773 The eclipses are explained in a similar way. Antonio did not regard the phenomenon as in any way lawful, however, and explained it case by case. Thus once, when he was still small,

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821 773 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatús were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

171 821 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contradiction of the views of the Karaiben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

* Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Paressí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the 821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?". An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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821 For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakaïrí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

811 821 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakaïrí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

821 I obtained no information about comets; Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakaïrí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knobs of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one

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821 side, Aldebaran is a thicker lump, the "father of the heap." "In the sky there are mandioca, plantings, forest, everything, everything." Festival ornaments too. Capella is a small husk such as the Bakaïrí wears in his ear for sticking a feather in from the front, two other stars of the Charioteer are the husks of the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the feathers of which are inserted in the back. One star, which one was uncertain but it seemed to me Procyon, is an ear-piercer, or probably more accurately, the hole pierced by him. The Twins /360/ are the holes of a large flute. Canopus did not have a name. The Southern Cross was a bird snare on a twig, and the two large stars of the Centaur represented two little sticks that belong to it. With the snare a mutum cavallo (Crax) had been caught, which one recognizes in a dark area of the Milk Way nearby; again one suggestion releases another and the one confirms the other. Not far distant, corresponding approximately to the stars of the Flying Fish and Argo, stands a sokko heron with a little basket full of small fish: lambaré, trahira, jejum. Scorpio is a carrying-net for children.

821 773 The Milky Way definitely attracted the greatest attention by far with its light and dark parts, and, next to the sun and moon, it seems to have furnished the bulk of the raw material for the entire body of legend. Whereas the stars are granules, holes, net knots, pegs and the ends of posts, here animal figures also appear, such as the aforementioned mutung hen and the sokko heron. The Milky Way itself is a huge drum-tree that lies on the ground, "like the one in the third village on the Kulisehu," which is drummed for the festival up above too; one can see its roots spreading out in the south. Keri and Kame, the two culture heroes, from whom the Bakaïrí learned their festival dances, accomplished all the deeds of their youth, which we have yet to discuss, in the vicinity of this "sata" tree. In the zenith is found the dark hole, which one can see only on the clearest nights, where the king vulture came out carrying the feather-ball of the sun in its claws, and through which the medicine man who was entertained by Christ (cf. p. 346) flew back to earth. The starless area to the east of the Cross, the Coalsack, is the hole that Keri and Kame dug in

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821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
773 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
773 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[767] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatûs, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikĩ fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatû, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatû worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatû already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is